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is found in a servant of "Don Garcie" (see vv. 602, 607). Inasmuch as theatrical names were conventional, this would prove nothing by itself, but in connection with the previous demonstration and assumption it may have a certain weight.

The question of style in the two plays I will not enter on. The indebtedness of *MOLIÈRE* to *CORNEILLE* in this particular has been too often indicated to require notice here. And besides, it would be unfair to claim that "Don Sanche" had influenced the style of "Don Garcie" any more than had "Nicomède" or "Le Menteur." A memory filled, as was *MOLIÈRE*'s, with the best lines of his great predecessor, would betray its dependence only where similar sentiments demanded expression.

IV.

My conclusions in regard to the composition of "Don Garcie" are then as follows: *MOLIÈRE* got the main idea of his piece and certain episodes from a play resembling that of *CICOGNINI*, but not necessarily from "Le Gelosie fortunée." On this theme he constructed a tragi-comedy after the one most familiar to him, "Don Sanche," imitating the situation, rank and relationship of the characters of *CORNEILLE*—borrowing the main outlines of the latter's plot, and filling in the various gaps in the action with scenes resembling those of "Don Sanche." Thus his own originality is allowed but little scope. The character of Don Lope, peculiar to "Don Garcie," is superfluous, and is dropped after the second act. The attitude of Elvire and Garcie toward each other contains the greater part of what belongs exclusively to *MOLIÈRE*, and that he was conscious of this is seen by the use which he afterwards made of their sentiments in "Le Misanthrope," "Amphitryon" and other comedies. The failure of "Don Garcie" is thus seen to result from the timidity of its author, who, entering on a road which, he doubtless felt, led him away from the trend of his inborn talent, relied too confidently on an imposing model and failed to assimilate and make his own the method of another—a method which rather embarrassed than aided his natural inspiration.

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THE HISTORICAL HERNANI.

ON the evening of the first representation of "Hernani," the following note was distributed on hand-bills among the spectators:

Il est peut-être à propos de mettre sous les yeux du public ce que dit la chronique espagnole de Alaya (qui ne doit pas être confondu avec Ayala, l'annaliste de Pierre le Cruel) touchant la jeunesse de Charles-Quint, lequel figure, comme on sait, dans le drame de *Hernani*.

"D. Carlos, tant qu'il ne fut qu'archiduc d'Autriche et roi de l'Espagne, fut un jeune prince amoureux de son plaisir, grand coureur d'aventures, sérénades et estocades sous les balcons de Saragosse, ravissant volontiers les belles aux galants, et les femmes aux maris, voluptueux et cruel au besoin. Mais du jour où il fut empereur, une révolution se fit en lui (*se hizo una revolucion en el*) et le débauché don Carlos devint ce monarque habile, sage, clément, hautain, glorieux, hardi avec prudence, que l'Europe a admiré sous le nom de Charles-Quint." (*Grandezas de España, descanso 24.*)

Nous ajouterons que le fait principal du drame de *Hernani*, lequel sert de base au dénouement, est historique. Cf. *BIRÉ*, 'V. Hugo avant 1830,' p. 490.

It is plainly seen from V. HUGO's testimony, as quoted above, that there exists some historical incident which he remodelled in the composition of his play. In publishing the following study into the sources of the drama, the writer is aware of the unsatisfactoriness of the results gained; but he is actuated by the hope that some one more favorably situated than himself may be led to compare these results with the sources which were utilized by our poet. Long and unsuccessful search makes it appear probable that the Spanish chronicle of Alaya, which would presumably contain the desired information, is not to be found in this country.

Before proceeding to the main point of our inquiry, it will be in order to consider a few questions of minor importance. In the preface to "Hernani" occurs the following passage:

'Il [V. Hugo] n'ose se flatter, que tout le monde ait compris du premier coup ce drame, dont le *Romancero general* est la véritable clef. Il prierait volontiers les personnes que cet ouvrage a pu choquer de relire *le Cid*, *Don Sanche*, *Nicomède*, ou plutôt tout *Corneille* et tout *Molière*, ces grands et admirables poètes. Cette lecture, si pourtant elles veulent bien

faire d'abord la part de l'immense infériorité de l'auteur d'Hernani, les rendra peut-être moins sévères pour certaines choses, qui ont pu les blesser dans la forme ou dans le fond de ce drame.'

Here the query arises, Why did VICTOR HUGO mention the above four names as giving the veritable key to his drama? The following, though of course conjectural, would seem to form a reasonable explanation. From the *Romancero general* are taken those touches of local coloring in which the play abounds, and which give to the dialogue its general atmosphere of reality. The "Cid" would naturally suggest itself on account of the similar quarrel to which it gave rise in the seventeenth century. "Nicomède" is a tragedy of which the author (CORNEILLE) says, "Je ne veux point dissimuler que cette pièce est une de celles pour qui j'ai le plus d'amitié." Its plot is taken from Roman history, and has nothing in common with "Hernani." Though called a tragedy, tenderness and those passions which were held to be indispensable in a tragedy, have no part here; the dominating note is the exaltation of courage and of the proud disdain for misfortune. The *dénouement* is not tragic, but rather agreeable, and thus it appears that although the play partakes of the nature of tragedy on account of the sublimity of its conception, it violates the 'rules' by its composition. There is still another consideration which might have prompted VICTOR HUGO to cite this play in the preface to "Hernani," viz., its language. Almost all of CORNEILLE's plays were severely criticised for the reason that he departed from the so-called 'style noble,' and in an edition of his works, 'Théâtre de Pierre Corneille avec des commentaires,' Paris, 1764, the foot-notes containing such criticism are especially numerous to the play in question. Indeed, it is surprising to note how many turns and phrases especially condemned there, reappear in "Hernani."

As for "Don Sanche," it may have been selected for still another reason. Space does not permit the insertion of the plot; but one might be led to see some vague relation between the two plays, for here as well does the *dénouement* turn upon the discovery of a prince of Aragon in the person of an adventurer who believes himself to be the son of an obscure

fisherman and has entered, as such, the service of the King of Castile. The play itself belongs to the class of the tragi-comedy, which is defined by DESMARETS as 'une pièce dont les principaux personnages sont princes, et les accidents graves et funestes, mais dont la fin est heureuse, encore qu'il n'y ait rien de comique qui y soit mêlé.'—For this and further characteristics of this distinctive class of dramatic composition, cf. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE, 'Théâtre en France,' p. 98 et seq.

The name 'Hernani' is not historical. It is the name of a picturesque little village in the province of Guipuzcoa in the north of Spain. When in the year 1811 Mme. HUGO, the mother of the poet, went with her children to Spain to join her husband, at that time attached to the service of Joseph Napoleon, whom Napoleon I. had named King of Spain, the first stop in the journey after leaving France was made at that village, and the young poet was greatly impressed with its romantic aspect (cf. 'V. Hugo raconté par un témoin de sa vie,' vol. i, p. 146).

The following is the story of Hernani as we gather it from the drama. Hernani is descended from a branch of the house of Aragon. His family and that of Don Carlos have for thirty years been engaged in a bitter feud (v. 98), when finally Hernani's father is taken prisoner by the father of Don Carlos, condemned to death, and executed upon the scaffold (v. 89). Hernani, born in exile (v. 1728), is by virtue of his birth a grandee of Spain (v. 1735), and has a right to the titles of duke of Segorbia and Cardona, marquis of Monroy, count of Albatera, viscount of Gor, his real name being Juan of Aragon, Grand Master of Avis (vv. 1724-1730). Pursued throughout Spain (v. 131), he finds at length a hiding-place in the mountains of Catalonia (v. 134), where, under the name of Hernani, he becomes the leader of a band of outlaws, all of whom, like himself, have some grievance to avenge (v. 128). True to the spirit of his race, he has sworn deadly vengeance on the son of the man who wronged his father (v. 95). With his lawless band he infests the neighborhood of Saragossa, and contrives to enter the city unknown. While there he gains the love of Doña Solofiancée of don Ruy Gomez, duke

of Pastraña. During one of his visits he finds a stranger in her rooms (Act i, scene 2), whom he discovers later (v. 280) to be Don Carlos, King of Spain and prospective Emperor of Germany. He now has a double reason for seeking revenge (v. 391). In conjunction with Don Ruy Gomez he joins the so-called '*sacro-sainte*' league, whose object it is to assassinate Charles rather than allow him to become emperor of Germany. But Charles frustrates their plans, discovers the conspiracy, and threatens to execute all the *noble* conspirators (Act iv). Hernani now discloses his identity (vv. 1719-1734), Charles pardons all the participants (v. 1781), and unites Hernani to Doña Sol (v. 1757).

The history of the time furnishes us with no scene similar to the one which forms the plot of our drama. Charles was elected Emperor of Germany after the death of his grandfather Maximilian, upon the recommendation of the elector Frederick the Sage, of Saxony. If any opposition was made to his election, it was merely upon the ground that it was dangerous to raise to the imperial throne a monarch already so powerful. But the threatening Turk, who was pressing closely upon the eastern boundary of the empire, was a danger clearly enough recognized to cause internal ambitions to be put aside. It was urged that the possessions of Charles were so exposed to the invasions of the Turks that it would be in his own interest to make a vigorous defence. This reason was found to be convincing, the advice of Frederick the Sage prevailed, and the election of Charles V. was nearly unanimous. There was no league (*ligue sacro-sainte*) to crush the imperial eagle in the egg.

After his grandfather's death, Charles was at once proclaimed King of Castile, and Cardinal Ximenes assumed the regency till the arrival of the young King from Flanders in 1517. He brought with him a number of his Flemish favorites, who enriched themselves at the expense of the Spanish people. The discontent grew stronger and stronger, and when Charles was elected emperor of Germany (1519), revolt and rebellion were rife in every part of his domains. These civil wars found their centres of activity in two leagues. One

was the "Junta," a conspiracy of the nobles of Castile, who wished to extort certain privileges from the King. During the lifetime of his mother Juana, they openly advocated depriving him of his royal title, while some even went so far as to desire a marriage between the queen and the prince of Calabria, the heir of the Aragonese King of Naples, who had been detained in prison since the time when Ferdinand had dispossessed his ancestors of their throne. The other league was the "Germanada" (or Brotherhood) of the cities and common people, an association whose origins date back as far as the thirteenth century, and which had for its object the protection of the rights of the people against the nobles. These domestic disturbances had free play from 1520 to 1522, when Charles was absent in Germany for his coronation (1520) and on account of the troubles incident to the Reformation (1521). The following is an episode belonging to the civil wars which raged during those years in almost every part of Spain.

The revolt was especially violent in Valencia. The rebels had been defeated at Oroposa by the duke of Segorbia, and the viceroy, Ferdinand, brother of Charles, had summoned all the nobles for a desperate onslaught. He directed his operations with so much skill, that finally all the cities were subdued with the exception of Xativa and Alcira. In the former city there arrived one day (according to the '*Anales de Aragon desde el Año de 1520-1525*,' by SAYAS RABANERO Y ORTUBIA, Zaragoza, 1667) a man who was

"Membrudo, pelo castaño, pocas barbas y rojas; rostro delgado, ojos zarcos, nariz aguilina, manos cortas, y carnudas; y con major exceso los pies; boca chiquita, las piernas cortas y el, de veinte y cinco años. Su habla castellana pura; y llena de cortesanas y de urbanidades. Vestía una bernia, ó manto, capote y calzones de Marinero; y cubriase la cabeza con una galleruza. Su calzado era de abarcas: una de cuero de buey, y otra de piel de asno."

This person appeared one evening at the house of a man who was accustomed to receive such people. He showed himself to be a very agreeable companion, and when asked for his name said he was called 'el hermano de todos.' He took part in the battles against the Moors, and one day in a

kirmish he killed twenty of them, while he himself came off unwounded. By such deeds, and by preaching in the public square concerning the day of Final Judgment, which he said was near at hand, he acquired great fame. Finally he called the people together in the public square, spoke of the importance of the 'Germania,' and designated as public enemies those who opposed its aims. When by such means he had gained a sufficient number of friends on whose support he could rely, he brought forward the claim

"Que era hijo del Principe Don Juan y de Madama Margarita de Austria: Pero infeliz en averle negado la cuna que merecia. Porque quando le pariò la Princesa (despues de muerto el Principe que la dexo preñada) el Cardenal Don Pedro Gonçalez de Mendoza, que la tuvo a su cargo, diò a entender, que avia sido hija, y que falleció luego; imbiandole a èl a Gibraltar, para que se criasse humildemente y no conocido, en los pechos de una Pastora. Todo porque heredasse estos Reynos de España el Archiduque Don Felipe el hermoso. Que su Nudriza le solia dezir: Hijo, cree que tu nombre es Don Enrique Manrique de Ribera, y que te aguarda una gran dicha. Este imposible a la razon, creyeron los sencillos, y aprobaron los maliciosos. Entre los quales hubo alguno, que para consecuencia del caso, acordava el tiempo en que vieno Margarita; murió el Principe; y pudo ser el parto; diziendo: Yo tengo memoria, que por Março del año mil quatrocientos noventa y siete el Almirante de Castilla traxo a Madama Margarita; y que por Octubre murió el Principe Don Juan en Salamanca: de manera, que segun la edad de Don Enrique, y lo que dize y haze, el es su hijo sin duda."

He was no longer called 'hermano,' but Don Enrique, or 'el Rey Encubierto.' The people established for him a palace and all the paraphernalia of a royal court. He was economical and very modest in his bearing, and became a great favorite with the people. "Se hazia tan bien visto, como si fuera su verdadero Principe. Veinte cavallos suyos y a su costa, todos los dios (a la primera luz) espiaavan la huerta, y corrian los contornos de la Ciudad; porque no se le escondiessen los designios contrarios." When the viceroy heard of this, he proposed at once to use all means in his power to kill or capture the pretender. He succeeded one night in concealing himself with his soldiers in the woods around Xativa. During the day he provoked

the 'rey encubierto' and his followers to a battle, in the course of which the false king himself was wounded, and more than two hundred of his party were killed. He escaped, however, to Alcira, and the city of Xativa passed into the possession of the viceroy. When the impostor king had recovered from his wounds, he entered into a conspiracy with some of his friends in the city of Valencia, the object of which was to surprise the garrison and to place himself in possession of the city. He entered Valencia by night and laid his plans. His accomplices were on the following night to open one of the city gates to him and his followers. But the conspiracy was frustrated, and the impostor taken prisoner and executed.

In order to keep alive the revolt, the leaders of the 'Germania' found another person, who resembled the 'rey encubierto,' and gave out that the latter had not been killed. They instructed this new impostor what to say and how to act, and the people were deceived. But some friend of the government betrayed his hiding-place, and he was promptly taken prisoner and met the fate of his predecessor. ('Anales de Aragon,' l. c., Chaps. lviii and lxviii).

The infante Don Juan, whose son this impostor claimed to be, was the eldest son of Ferdinand and Isabella, born in the year 1478. In 1497 he was married to the princess Margarita of Austria, but died in the same year, leaving the princess *enceinte*, and she was soon after delivered of a stillborn child. When Isabella died, only Juana remained as the sole successor to the throne of Castile and Aragon. History tells of no foul means by which Philip or his son had usurped the title and possessions of the son of Juan, as one might be led to think from "Hernani" v. 568.

If V. Hugo had in mind this incident of the history of Aragon, we should have in the 'rey encubierto' the prototype of Hernani, the bandit who claims to be John of Aragon. He has merely changed his name (Don Enrique) to that of the prince from whom the impostor claimed to be descended.

There is still, however, another point which calls for explanation. Hernani gives as

reason for seeking vengeance upon Don Carlos, that the father of the latter has caused his (Hernani's) father to be executed on the scaffold (vv. 118, 567, 1728, 1729). It is possible that the following incident in the history of Aragon served as the basis of this feature in the play of "Hernani."

The King Juan II. of Aragon in the year 1476 had given to Don Alonso, his natural son and hence half-brother of Ferdinand the Catholic, the *baronia* of Arenos in the kingdom of Valencia; and Don Jayme of Aragon, nephew of the latter, duke of Gandia, count of Ribogorza and Denia, put himself in possession of Villahermosa, chief town in the above-mentioned baronage. His father had been dispossessed of Arenos, but Don Jayme advanced a claim that this province belonged by right to the first-born of his family, and that if his father had committed deeds for which *he* had been justly deposed, these reasons could in no wise attach to him. Don Gomez Suarez de Figueroa and other captains hastened to the spot, to oppose him in the name of the king. Don Jayme was declared a rebel and condemned to death. His title was taken from him and given to Don Alonso of Aragon, who was created duke of Villahermosa. Don Jayme defended himself for a long time, but want of food and drink finally forced him to surrender. He was taken to Barcelona and publicly executed as a notorious rebel (1479). His title and possessions were given to Don Juan of Aragon, son of the duke of Villahermosa. (ZURITA, 'Anales de Aragon,' Zaragoza 1610, vol. iv, libro xix, cap. lxi; and libro xx, cap. iv.)

Allowance being made for the liberty of the poet, the above episodes may be regarded as furnishing the key to VICTOR HUGO's remark above quoted, "que le fait principal du drame de *Hernani*, lequel sert de base au dénouement, est historique." Hernani is the 'rey encubierto.' In the play he calls himself John of Aragon, and does not claim to be the son of the infante Don Juan, but that of Jayme of Aragon, the only prince of Aragon to my knowledge publicly beheaded during the time demanded by our drama. The father of Charles V. is not taken into account at all, and for Don Alonso, to whom the possessions

of Don Jayme were granted, is substituted his half-brother Ferdinand, at the time king of Aragon, who condemned Don Jayme to death. To be sure, the names of the play differ from those of history, but V. HUGO himself changed his mind in regard to them during the composition of the play. Among the variants of the *édition définitive* occur the following lines:

Ce Hernani, dit-on, n'est autre que don Jorge
D'Aragon, se disant duc de Segorbe, né
Dans l'exil, fils proscrit d'un père infortuné
Qui, pour avoir aimé la reine comme une autre
Finit sur l'échafaud sa lutte avec le vôtre.

Here the name *Jorge* is employed as a suitable rhyme with *forge* in the preceding line, and the cause of the father's death is changed as well. The play now merely says,

'Les pères ont lutté sans pitié, sans remords
Trente ans.'

From this, it follows plainly that such minor divergences may be disregarded, in attempting to determine the historical basis of the plot.

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NOTES ON AMERICAN PRONUNCIATION.

IN October, 1890, I sent to all the members of the Modern Language Association and the American Dialect Society, and to some other persons, a circular containing questions about their usual pronunciation of certain English sounds. My object was not dialect study in the common sense of this term: what I wished was to ascertain some facts regarding the pronunciation of educated Americans in various parts of our country. The dictionaries, which, as a rule, simply copy one another, afford little or no clue to our actual speech. An investigation in this line is, therefore, in my opinion, necessarily the first step in the work of a society devoted to phonetics. Such research will be doubly useful if it helps to remind Americans that they have a native language, and that they can better acquire a good pronunciation by listening to cultivated American speakers than by making an oracle of the dictionary.